

Book Reviews

Wayfinding through the Storm: Speaking Truth to Power at Kamehameha Schools 1993–1999. By Gavan Daws and Nā Leo o Kamehameha. Honolulu: Watermark Publishing, 2009. xxiii + 360 pp. Illustrated. \$24.95 paper

This is a story of abuse of power, which is too often found today in many educational institutions. While abuse of power often involves the executive officer of the educational institution, over the past 30 years, increasingly it has generally involved the board members of educational institutions. This story in *Wayfinding through the Storm* is compelling for two reasons. The first reason is there was pervasive political corruption, including the governor of the state, the state Supreme Court, and the Attorney General that led to the abuse of power. The second reason is that in spite of all the power on the side of the trustees, resistance did surface, which led to the abusive board members being dismissed.

The organization of the book includes a preface in which the author provides an analysis of the crisis and the abuse of power by the Kamehameha Schools' Board of Trustees during the decade of the 1990s. The rest of the book includes statements by Nā Leo o Kamehameha (the voices of Kamehameha), the people involved in the crisis both as abusers and victims. The result of this two-prong approach is an interpretation of the history of this crisis and an oral history that chronicles the events so that the reader can draw his or her own conclusion. More than 200 interviews of Kamehameha Schools' faculty, staff, students, alumni, parents, and friends were done shortly after the crisis ended. According to author, Gavan Daws, all the interviews were conducted "under the oath to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth" (p. xxii).

Daws purports that the fundamental message of this book is that in spite of the powerful forces behind the trustees, the people connected with ensuring that the mission of Princess Pauahi Bishop, the founder of the Kamehameha Schools, found the moral courage to stand up for what they believed,

and they prevailed. Mrs. Bishop's dream was that the Kamehameha Schools "provide first and chiefly a good education in the common English branches, and also instruction in morals and in such useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women."¹ Throughout the history of the Kamehameha Schools, students were indeed moral and industrious. In the end, it was the values inculcated at the Kamehameha Schools that led to the resistance and ultimately to the overthrow of the corrupt board of trustees.

The five members of the Board of Trustees of the Kamehameha Schools were appointed by a Hawai'i Supreme Court that was controlled by the Democratic Party. These trustees had been important Democratic members of the state legislature. Both the Governor and the State Attorney General, who could have stopped the abuse of power, were also Democratic allies of the appointed trustees. The evidence provided in this book clearly leads to the conclusion that the appointment to the Kamehameha Schools' Board of Trustees was the political reward for service to their political party. Interestingly, all of the participants in this political maneuver were Native Hawaiians. Even the lone dissenter on the Board of Trustees was a Native Hawaiian but he was also the only one who graduated from the Kamehameha Schools.

Graft, improper use of funds, and using funds for personal benefit were the non-educational abuse of power which this book documents. The educational abuse of power, which impacted the operation of the Kamehameha Schools, was mainly conducted by the one Board of Trustee member assigned to oversee the educational policies of the schools. Her abuse of power involved invading classrooms, terrorizing teachers, insulting their professional competence, demanding revisions in the curriculum of the schools, and ending programs designed to help Native Hawaiians who were not fortunate enough to receive a Kamehameha Schools education.

The resistance actually began when two courageous teachers called together the rest of the faculty. They named their organization Nā Kumu (the teachers). They were quickly joined by members of the Kamehameha Schools alumni, who called themselves Nā Pua O Ke Ali'i (the flowers or children of Princess Pauahi). It was a demonstration led by the alumni organization that triggered an important editorial entitled "Broken Trust" published by the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* on August 9, 1997. The authors of this editorial were Native Hawaiians with "impeccable integrity and lifetime community service" (p. xvii) and a University of Hawai'i professor specializing in trust law. These actions finally triggered a series of law suits that led the State Supreme Court to terminate the appointment of all five members of the Board of Trustees.

According to Daws, the purpose of this book was to recreate the human experience of Nā Leo o Kamehameha in terms of what it was like to live through those times. As a graduate and an educational historian who has

studied the history of the Kamehameha Schools, I, too, was horrified by the actions taken by the Board of Trustees during the 1990s. However, while the events surrounding this period of the Schools' history may have been extraordinary, controversies involving admissions policies, use of funds, and control over teachers and their curriculum have been common throughout the history of the Kamehameha Schools.

This book complements Arthur Rath's recent attempt to provide the contemporary history of the Kamehameha Schools.² While Rath's book speaks through one voice, the strength of *Wayfinding through the Storm* is the many voices shared that would have remained silent if not for the efforts of Gavan Daws. I recommend reading this book and if you haven't already read Rath's book, read that as well.

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NOTES

¹ "Her Dream, Her Will, Her Legacy 100 Years Later", *The Sunday Star-Bulletin & Advertiser* (October 30, 1983): A10.

² See J. Arthur Rath, *Lost Generations: A Boy, A School, A Princess* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

Creating the Nisei Market: Race & Citizenship in Hawai'i's Japanese American Consumer Culture. By Shiho Imai. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$38.00 cloth

In 1922, when Hawai'i resident Takao Ozawa was denied citizenship on the basis of race, inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands witnessed the emergence of a vibrant Japanese American culture that embraced consumerism to demonstrate their fitness for citizenship. In her remarkable study, *Creating the Nisei Market*, Shiho Imai examines the heretofore untold story of the emergence of American consumer culture in the Japanese community that articulated their Americanness in material terms. Imai points out that the focus of "whiteness" in Nisei consumer culture—evident in advertisements in the ethnic press—extended beyond the traditional white/black dichotomy and instead encompassed a transnational dimension. As the Japanese American community rein-

vented itself to meet changing consumer demands and social expectations, ethnic fluidity within the dynamic consumer culture of Japanese Americans became a strategy for success, resulting in the rise of the Nisei in Hawai'i in the postwar period. Imai makes an important contribution to Japanese American scholarship by exploring the dynamic commercial environment that underwrote the rise of the Nisei to prominence and preeminence in Hawai'i through the marketing and embrace of whiteness.

Through the extensive use of a variety of sources including school papers, Japanese American periodicals, newspapers, and various sociological studies, Imai skillfully constructs emerging notions of markers of whiteness and the creation of the Nisei market in chapters one and two. Having achieved little success at claiming whiteness through naturalization laws, Japanese Americans created their own social hierarchy that associated whiteness with concepts of "modernity," "abundance," and "urbanity," linking cultural and racial notions of whiteness to pride and power shared in both Japan and America (p. 4). Imai explores the complex relationships Japanese Americans had with other ethnic groups such as Filipinos and Okinawans to reveal how insistence on their own whiteness often came at the exclusion of others. Imai's argument adds a unique angle to Japanese inter-ethnic relations as traditionally it has been understood that it was assertions of Japanese racial superiority that explains their exclusion of other Asian groups.

Imai also examines how the adoption of class-based notions of whiteness as a standard of feminine beauty was both empowering and limiting for Japanese American women in chapter three. Advertisements in the ethnic papers encouraged Nisei women to embrace the liberation of purchasing the latest in consumer goods while simultaneously promoting images of domesticity and motherhood. Although not explicitly stated, Imai's argument offers tantalizing precedents for Nisei women's postwar activities such as their participation in the Cherry Blossom Festival that promoted female public citizenship in a gendered manner. These contradictory strands reveal how Nisei consumer behavior was never fixed and in chapter four, Imai illustrates how different groups within the community—the ethnic press, Nisei sociologists, and Nisei high school students—attempted to mold Nisei consumer behavior in different ways to promote the collective commitment to ethnic uplift (p. 89). Imai's research offers important insights into the multiplicity of perspectives and activism within the Japanese community that would partly explain the Nisei's embrace of Americanization campaigns prior to and during World War II. While the fluidity of Nisei identity ensured their success in embracing Americanization during and after the war, the rise of the Nisei in Hawai'i also came at the expense of their Issei parents, many of whom were still deeply connected to Japanese customs and notions of their own Japanese identity.

In the concluding chapter five, Imai examines efforts by Japanese business owners to shape consumer behavior within both the white and Japanese community. Many business owners embraced a duality in public orientation—assimilation for whites and Nisei and loyalty to the homeland for the Issei—that was key for many businesses to survive the Depression years (p. 119). However, this dualism in marketing strategies soon became a liability in the period prior to the outbreak of World War II with growing anti-Japanese sentiment.

In *Creating the Nisei Market*, Imai adds a valuable new dimension to the history of Japanese Americans by studying the growth of consumer culture during a period that straddles both the pre- and postwar period in Hawai'i. Imai does an excellent job contextualizing the growth of the Nisei market within the growing legal and legislative repression in the language school controversy, the emergence of the Americanization campaign in the Islands, and the growing suspicion of Japanese by political and military officials. However, it is difficult to determine if Nisei consumer culture gave birth to actual political and economic gains that challenged their second-class status in Hawai'i, which was ultimately achieved by Nisei military service and sacrifice during World War II. Yet, Imai's scholarship reveals critical linkages between the pre- and postwar period with the emergent presence of the Nisei veterans in politics and public life during the 1954 Democratic Revolution and the organization of the Cherry Blossom Festival Queen Pageant that highlighted the public consumer presence of women. By focusing on the embrace of whiteness that characterized the Japanese American community, *Creating the Nisei Market* reveals the fluidity of Japanese American identity was both modern and nostalgic within patterns of consumer culture and behavior.

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The US Military in Hawai'i: Colonialism, Memory and Resistance. By Brian Ireland. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. xix + 262 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$80.00 cloth

There are now three critical scholarly books about the U.S. military in Hawai'i: Francine du Plessix Gray's early book, *Hawaii: The Sugar Coated Fortress* (1972); the 1999 contribution by Phyllis Turnbull and me, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*; and Brian Ireland's new book

The US Military in Hawai'i: Colonialism, Memory and Resistance. Ireland's book makes a unique and needed contribution to this small body of work, while his very accomplishment highlights the otherwise deafening silence on this crucial, neglected topic. How is it that we know so little about our state's second biggest industry? What else do we need to know?

Ireland's focus, as his subtitle indicates, is on the practices of remembering and forgetting that have both contributed to and eroded the military's presence in Hawai'i. In pursuit of the data needed to support his project, Ireland has been persistent and creative: he has both unearthed new data and interpreted familiar representations in unfamiliar ways. In the former category, locating fresh data, falls Ireland's remarkable recovery of the stories of soldiers from Hawai'i in World War I. An impressive boulder near the Waikiki Natatorium, the Honolulu Stone, contains 101 names of men from Hawai'i who, the engraving suggests, were killed fighting in that war. Ireland unpacks the biographies condensed in the names on the stone: 22 served in the British military, not the American; 26 died of non-combat related causes after the war ended; 42 died in Hawai'i; only 16 actually died in a war zone during the war, while only eight actually died in battle (p. 88). Ireland's astute analysis connects the astonishing inflation of the numbers on the memorial with the debates among civilian, military, and veterans groups over the memorial's design. He rightly calls these "battles over Americanism" (p. 67). Ireland's dogged recovery of stories of these men's lives and deaths personalizes and politicizes the otherwise flat memory of "the officially sanctioned, state-endorsed, and military-approved story of duty, honor and sacrifice for the nation" (pp. 131-132).

In the latter category, reinterpreting already familiar data, the reader finds Ireland's insightful analysis of standard histories employing what he calls a "unitary language of power" (p. 4), meaning a perspective that naturalizes the military's own view of itself and the region while overshadowing other stories that might challenge that dominant story. Ireland takes the reader on a critical tour of the history available in the Army Museum of Hawai'i at Fort DeRussy, reading the museum's narrative against the grain in order to detect the erasures that normalize the military's presence. Ireland also interprets numerous films about Hawai'i, tracking the deployment of exotic and erotic images representing the islands as just the right setting for the war stories and travel narratives required by the state's two major industries (the U.S. military and tourism).

The penultimate chapter recovers a little known history of the underground press that thrived in Hawai'i during the Vietnam War. Building on Helen Chapin's important book, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), Ireland highlights the crucial

role of approximately 15 radical newspapers in bringing a critical view of the war to readers. While the *Honolulu Advertiser* and the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* joined most mainland news outlets in “minimizing enemy gains, quoting official casualty figures, projecting a positive outlook, and looking forward to an American victory,” (p. 217), the vigorous alternative press in Hawai‘i made a different perspective possible. Ireland concludes his book with a brief consideration of contemporary anti-military activists and highlights some of the hidden costs as well exaggerated economic benefits of the military presence.

Ireland’s primary focus is on the construction of memory: “Memorials are an important way of remembering. They are not just part of the past, they help to shape attitudes in the present and thus act as a guide for the future.” (p. 45) I concur with Ireland’s stress on sites of memory, yet I wonder what other kinds of data could be sought, and what sorts of analysis could be done, were more scholars determined to do the careful and creative research needed to fully understand the impact of the military in Hawai‘i. We know that the military is the worst polluter on the planet, yet we know very little about what is happening in Hawai‘i to our groundwater, our soil, our air, and our oceans from the relentless military use. What are the health effects of military occupation? Given the location of large military holdings, what in particular are the health effects on the surrounding Native Hawaiian communities? How much money spent here by the military really stays in the local economy, and how much goes to mainland contractors, or is spent on-base? What are the effects of all those soldiers and sailors on the local prostitution industry? Traffic accidents? Domestic violence? How much does it cost the state to educate the children of military personnel? How many military personnel retire in Hawai‘i, and what effect do they have on local boards, political parties, and communities? How is the already tight housing market affected by military personnel entitled to rent subsidies more generous than many local people can pay? We do not have the answers to most of these questions, but we should. Perhaps other researchers will be inspired by Brian Ireland’s strong historical analysis to pursue such questions.

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The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era. By Stacy L. Kamehiro. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. xii + 266 pp. Illustrated. Catalogue. Appendix. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$60.00 cloth; \$24.00 paper

King Kalākaua and his advisors adopted a range of Western visual forms and architectural styles in the nineteenth century, cognizant that the survival of his kingdom was dependent on the support of Native and non-Native peoples within the kingdom, and nations outside of it. In *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era*, author Stacy L. Kamehiro documents Kalākaua's creation of a national culture designed to address attacks on his dynastic rule and to revitalize Hawaiian traditional practices. Her book's major contribution consists of an impressive semiotic analysis of four prominent "nationalist" projects: an event (the king's coronation), a building ('Iolani Palace), a monument (the King Kamehameha I bronze statue), and an institution (the Hawaiian National Museum). By referring to a range of sources, she reveals how these visual signifiers of national culture functioned strategically to legitimize Kalākaua's genealogical claims to the throne and symbolize his *mana* by linking his dynastic rule to the heroism of legendary historic figures and their embodiment of sacred Hawaiian values. She emphasizes that these public projects were meaningful to heterogeneous audiences—representing a vibrant indigenous culture for some while verifying the positive influence of foreign culture for others. Their semiotic versatility thus communicated different notions of modernity to local, national, and international viewers.

As Kamehiro makes explicit in her introduction, she is interested in examining how "historical conditions and individual agency interacted with Native epistemologies and international ideologies" (p. 16). While crowns, thrones, palaces, monuments, and museums are generally identified with Western culture or understood as evidence of the hegemonic effects of colonization,¹ Kamehiro demonstrates that Hawaiians creatively "indigenized" these forms. Hence, crystal panes etched with *taro* leaf motifs and metal railings designed to resemble *kapu* markers at 'Iolani Palace were but two ways foreign forms were selectively adapted to address the politics of the day, including signaling to the outside world that the kingdom was worthy of independent rule and international protection.

Kamehiro's book provides ample illustrations (including 16 color plates) to assist her visual analysis. In addition to a glossary, extensive notes, and an appendix listing historic figures, she offers a catalogue of the contents of the Hawaiian National Museum and Library. Compiled from published

and unpublished sources, the catalogue will be of immense value to future researchers. The four chapters devoted to each of the visual culture examples mentioned earlier are clearly written and highly informative. With an art historian's eye for minute detail, she offers close readings of the iconographic imagery and explanations of Hawaiian *kaona* that will appeal to both the specialist and general reader. For example, the *kukui* "jewels" in the coronation crown "referenced the Kukui Torch of Iwikauikaua and therefore represented Kalākaua's genealogical standing, *kapu* status, and exalted chiefly metaphors of 'burning,' 'shining,' and 'brightness'" (p. 51).

In her final chapter on the artistic legacy of the Kalākaua era, Kamehiro argues that the coronation ceremony, 'Iolani Palace, Kamehameha I monument, and Hawaiian National Museum functioned as open-ended, syncretic, and public visual discourses that differed significantly from the roles of other Kalākaua-backed projects such as the Board of Genealogy of Hawaiian Chiefs, the Hale Nauā Society, Hawaiian language publications, and hula patronage. Because these latter projects were primarily limited to participation by Native elites, their impact was more restricted and did not offer the "inclusive ideology" nor the "possibility of productive collaboration[s] and the coexistence of Native and non-Native Hawaiians" of the former (p. 135). Although intriguing, her conclusions are troubling. Did the purported ideological inclusiveness of 'Iolani Palace facilitate its use by usurpers after the 1893 overthrow? Is this an example of "productive collaboration," however disturbing?

Kamehiro's research brings to mind the work of Cristina Bacchilega, B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer, and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio in its examination of the complex interactions between Native Hawaiians and non-Natives. A significant difference from their work is that she does not utilize extensive Hawaiian language resources. Kamehiro also does not identify herself as non-Native as do many others, including myself, who are involved in research projects on Hawai'i but are not Hawaiian. Although some may consider this omission irrelevant, I would argue that it inadvertently promotes a way of thinking about scholarly pursuits as objective. In Bacchilega's *Legendary Hawai'i and the Politics of Place* (2007), the author identifies herself as non-Hawaiian and her training as "Euro-American" to emphasize the need for rethinking the Western production of knowledge about Hawaiian myths and culture and to encourage alternative approaches to research.² In Kamehiro's case, an admission of her non-Native status would have been appropriate, as well as an acknowledgement of the need to corroborate her views with Hawaiian language sources in certain sections.

In 1878, Kalākaua's haole prime minister, Walter Murray Gibson, delivered a pivotal speech to the legislature to propose the Kamehameha I monument. According to Kamehiro, Gibson skillfully reversed the "discourses of

discovery” by suggesting that it was the leadership skills of Kamehameha I who introduced Hawai‘i to the civilized world and not its discovery by Captain Cook. While Gibson eloquently urged legislators to finance the monument, he “did not escape primitivizing pre- and early postcontact Hawai‘i” (p. 82). Kamehiro speculates that Kalākaua and his Native followers would not have characterized their ancestors in the same way as Gibson. It is interesting that Gibson’s speech in English was followed by an oral translation in Hawaiian by John Makini Kapena. Although Kamehiro does not suggest it, locating a copy of Kapena’s Hawaiian translation would help scholars today assess the differences between his presentation and Gibson’s. In light of what we have learned from contemporary translation studies about how indigenous peoples historically asserted their agency in ways that were unnoticed, this may be worth pursuing.³

Aside from these few areas of concern, Kamehiro’s book offers a compelling and much needed examination of the formation of a Hawaiian national culture. Her research helps us to recognize that the syncretic appearances of many of its cultural forms were created to respond strategically to internal and external threats to the Hawaiian kingdom and its monarchy.

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NOTES

¹ Kamehiro refers to the political context in the late nineteenth century and the impact of Western practices in terms of colonialism even though Hawai‘i was an independent nation at the time.

² See Cristina Bacchilega’s discussion on “My Ethics of Location” in *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007): 22–28.

³ See one of C. Bacchilega’s many discussions on translation and translation studies and the agency of Native peoples, *Ibid.*, 13–16.

Talking Hawai'i's Story: Oral Histories of an Island People. Edited by Michi Kodama-Nishimoto, Warren S. Nishimoto, and Cynthia A. Oshiro. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009. xiii + 312 pp. Illustrated. Appendices. \$19.00 paper

There were two [internment] camps side by side, separated by about a twenty-foot-wide maze of barbed wire. We, the haoles, were about fifty men. The Japanese camp had about 2,500—we thought 3,000, but I learned later on it was a little under 2,500.

In the middle of the space between the Japanese camp and ours was a raised platform in which our only captive [Japanese] mini-submariner was kept. He was stripped except for a loincloth. He was the one who, in the attack on Pearl Harbor, came with his mini-submarine and was caught in the submarine net.

We were ordered not to look at or talk with him or we would be shot. Now, how can you not look at the prisoner of war virtually exhibited on the platform? Regardless of which direction we wanted to look, we couldn't miss him. Nobody was shot.

—Alfred Preis (p. 237)

Regardless of which way we look at *Talking Hawai'i's Story: Oral Histories of an Island People*, we can't miss the stark, stripped-down reality of quotidian family activities *literally* impacted by larger-world events.

The book, a compilation of reconfigured interviews, presents disparate life-recountings collected through the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Center for Oral History and first published in the semi-annual newsletter, *Oral History Recorder*. Each of the stories has been transformed from interview to "narrative." The initial interviewing process took a historical/chronological approach, after which "portions of limited interest were removed" and topics within each story were rearranged to enhance the narrative flow. The interviewers' questions and prompts remain invisible to the reader.

In keeping with standard oral-history protocol, interviewees were allowed to reshape, add to, and/or correct the reconfigured "product," and then sign off on their personal history. The book's introduction states that these thirty selected "narratives" were among the "more vivid" of 69 collected—but, what constitutes *vivid*, and at what stage in the shaping and/or editorial process was this determined?

The book's structure and sequencing are, as well, somewhat intangible. While there is no discernable arrangement of categories, descriptions, interpretations or analyses, these first-person constructions of experience and consciousness are, nonetheless, inherently linked by themes of social activity, political structure, and geographical location.

The most unifying impact on the lives of these folks who were born in the early years of the 20th century was the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the ensuing duration of World War II. Yet, against this shared backdrop, we catch glimpses of passing lifestyles connected to specific locales and specific occupations; growing up in Waikīkī, life experiences in Kohala, Kōloa, and Kona, working in the pineapple and sugar industries, life on the cowboy trail, long hours as shopkeepers, and challenges as enterprising war-time businessmen.

These are the voices of committed, vested Hawai'i residents—no matter their or their forebearers' duration of residency. These stories are free of malice toward newcomers, or people with accents, or those with language barriers. Although perhaps separated by economic, educational, or ethnic experience, these voices are remarkably similar in their generous spirit toward others.

The acuity of observation varies from speaker to speaker. In some stories, it is difficult to get a handle on the locale due to limited recounting of spatial awareness or seeming inattention to the relationship of a more personal event to the larger context or environment. Other accounts, such as Irene Cockett Perry's recalling of the plain rooms of her grandparents' house on Lāna'i (p. 224), and Preis' description of his cot sinking into the rain-soaked ooze of the Sand Island Internment Camp (p. 237), emanate a keenly attuned awareness of immediate surroundings.

Other narrators describe their immediate neighborhood in more functional terms; Kazue Iwahara Uyeda's account of the contents of her family store "that carried everything—"the inexpensive store" (p. 286)—and each of the other family businesses in her 'A'ala Park neighborhood.

Still other speakers convey a sharpened temporal perspective, especially, but not surprisingly, relating to specific events during World War II. While these time-exact recollections might have also been reinforced over the years by written, radio or video reports, they are in and of themselves highly focused:

I watched the Zero [Japanese aircraft] going right around, and the guy was looking right at us. He was so low, we could see him and he could see us. After that, I start thinking, by god, good thing he didn't

let loose. ‘Cause we had no uniform on, you know, but here we were gathering” (p. 198).

Ernest A. Malterre, Jr.

After the December 7, 1941 attack;

O‘ahu Civilian Defense group

marshalling at a Mililani ballpark

Talking Hawai‘i’s Story will have broad local appeal—certainly for folks with a general understanding of Hawai‘i’s history, communities, and geography. Perhaps, too, high-school students will be an apt audience under the direction of instructors intent on familiarizing students with the everyday events of a *pre*-technological Hawai‘i. A glossary at the end of each story helps in this regard; though some of the entries such as *sushi*, *lu‘au*, *haole*, *poi* are so familiar that they are not even italicized in the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*. As for a non-Hawai‘i audience, the book would likely, indeed, have limited interest.

Talking Hawai‘i’s Story: Oral Histories of an Island People cuts a swath through a bygone field of the Hawai‘i experience, one from which we can not turn away, nor can we forget.

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Facing Future. By Dan Kois. London: Continuum, 2010. xiii + 168 pp. Illustrated. Maps. Glossary. \$10.95 paper

Facing Future by Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole is the first Hawaiian album in Continuum’s 33 1/3, a series devoted to single seminal music albums. It is the 40th volume in 33 1/3 (a reference to LPs) and joins such classics as The Beatles’ *Let It Be*, Joni Mitchell’s *Court and Spark*, and Stevie Wonder’s *Songs in the Key of Life*.

Written by haole journalist Dan Kois, a Milwaukee native now living in Arlington, Virginia, *Facing Future* is an engaging book that honors the life and struggles of Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole. It humanizes Israel by situating his music in the political, economic, and cultural contexts of a U.S. colony in the middle of the Pacific. Like its album namesake, the book is written for multiple audiences: living-in-Hawai‘i Hawaiians and readers living on the

U.S. continent and abroad. For foreign readers, *Facing Future* problematizes the hidden history of American imperialism in Hawai'i. As Israel reminds us, Hawai'i is a former independent nation whose monarchy was illegally overthrown by U.S. forces in 1893. Traces of this traumatic occupation are manifest in the poverty-stricken and psychological arrest of some Native Hawaiians, including Israel, who was a high school dropout, drug user, and social welfare dependent for most of his adult life. Israel's life was one of resistance and extremes, from which emerged his remarkable rise to stardom—the first Hawaiian recording artist to reach platinum fame, admired by millions of listeners around the world while maintaining local hero status in Hawai'i.

The book opens with a prologue from the point of view of studio engineer Milan Bertosa, a Chicago transplant to the Islands. Through his haole eyes, we first meet Israel at a 4 a.m. impromptu recording session in 1988. Israel strums his ukulele, evokes Gabby [Pahinui], and re-versions two U.S. American classics, "Over the Rainbow" and "What a Wonderful Life," into a Hawaiian medley. This nearly forgotten recording spiraled *Facing Future* into national and international spheres; "Somewhere Over the Rainbow" has been licensed to films (*Finding Forrester* and *Forgetting Sarah Marshall*), TV programs (*E.R.* and *Glee*), commercials (eBay), performed on *American Idol* and, since the book's publication, was #1 on Germany's Billboard chart and earned inclusion in National Public Radio's "Fifty Great Voices."

The Prologue is followed by three parts. Part One traces Israel's childhood in Pālolo, Ni'ihau and Mākaha, his marriage to Marlene Ku'upua Ah Lo, and the fatal heart attack of his older brother Skippy. Part Two focuses on Israel's growing discontent with the management of the Mākaha Sons of Ni'ihau that leads to his separation from the group. He seeks counsel from lawyer Robert Ferrigno, signs with producer/promoter Jon de Mello of the Mountain Apple Company and releases his first solo album *Facing Future* in 1993. Following Part Two is Songs of *Facing Future*, an annotated discography of hapa-haole and Hawaiian songs, including commentary on *kaona* (hidden meanings) by University of Hawai'i at Mānoa musicologist Ricardo Trimillos, Mākaha Sons leader Moon Kauakahi, former KCCN deejay Skylark Rossetti, and others. Part Three unfolds with Israel's death, funeral rituals signifying him as Hawaiian royalty, and the on-going strategic and viral marketing of his music.

While Kois exposes the backstage of Israel's life, he also exposes the backstage of music marketing as dramatically reconfigured by commercial licensing and the Internet. Commercial licensing exposes *Facing Future* to larger and broader audiences, and loosens its dependency on radio airplay that, in the U.S., is increasingly regulated by a handful of media conglomerates. When consumers hear Israel's reggae 'ukulele and gentle voice on a film,

TV program, or commercial, they can “google” his identity and digitally download his music. The Internet, then, collapses time and space, making music viral, global, and boundless. Hawai‘i may be geographically isolated in the mid-Pacific, but the Internet brings it face-to-face with listeners as far away as Germany, where *Facing Future* was #1 in December 2010—17 years after the album’s debut. *Facing Future*’s success is reminiscent of Moby’s *Play* (1999) which sold 10 million copies worldwide and whose tracks were heavily licensed for use in films, TV, and commercials. *Facing Future* is not *kanikapila* but a product of 21st century digital capitalism, its success determined by hits, downloads, and dollars.

When reading *Facing Future*, it is easy to forget that the writer is a relative outsider to Hawai‘i. In 2000, Kois spent a year living on O‘ahu when his wife was assigned to a local office. He first heard Israel’s music not while living in Hawai‘i, but after moving back to the East Coast. This prompted him to propose *Facing Future* to Continuum’s 33 1/3 series—it was his ticket back to the Islands. Knowing this, it is tempting to misjudge Kois’s outsider status and perceive it as a disadvantage. How well can an East Coast haole understand local Hawaiian culture and ways of communicating after a one-year residency? There are awkward third-person pidgin references (“Israel spent his small-kid time in Kaimuki”—p. 13) and excessive use of “bruddah” when referring to a Hawaiian man, and although *kaona* is misspelled as *kauna* (hanging or placement, chanting) in the Glossary, Kois has written a credible and well-researched book. His outsider status is compensated by his journalism training, a sensitivity to difference, skepticism at inconsistencies, and the need to question. Could a local Hawai‘i resident write as honest a book as Kois? Would a Hawai‘i resident have the audacity to position Jon de Mello as a “hack”? How would a local writer explain de Mello’s claim, for example, that Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole was *apolitical* and that “Hawaii ‘78” is *not* a song of resistance? One wonders about *kaona* in local Hawaiian culture and communication that was misread or altogether missed. Hawaii is, after all, a high-context culture where meaning is implied, unspoken, *contextual*, and not always found in words. What interpretations and readings would a Hawaiian writer make of *Facing Future*? When can we read this version?

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Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883. By Clifford Putney. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$34.95 cloth

According to Cliff Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i* is a sympathetic study of the lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, two of more than 148 missionaries who came to the Sandwich Islands in the early 19th century under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). He juxtaposes his work with that of the hagiography of missionary descendants and their supporters and the more recent condemnatory scholarship produced by Native Hawaiian sovereignty activists. Putney argues that the Gulicks had significant influence in Hawai'i, spreading Christianity and western culture, including such Enlightenment ideals as individual rights, democracy, education for both men and women, and the privileging of meritocracy over rank. The Gulicks also introduced manual and agricultural arts to the Native Hawaiians.

This well written and readable work includes seven chapters that are divided both chronologically and, more importantly, according to the geographical location of the Gulicks. Thus, it starts with Peter and Fanny's early life and upbringing in New England and New York, continues with the couple's mission work at various stations in Hawai'i, and ends with their move to Japan and their eventual deaths in that country.

Missionaries in Hawai'i is not a theoretical or analytical work, but is instead descriptive. Moreover, it does not focus on historiography, although in the introduction and conclusion it does take on Hawaiian native sovereignty activist Haunani-Kay Trask's assertion that the ABCFM missionaries contributed nothing positive to Hawai'i or its peoples. Some scholars might condemn Putney's work for these deficiencies. However, I appreciate it for what it is, rather than what it is not. The book is easy to read and engaging. This is the type of work that attracted me to the study of these same missionaries when I was a young volunteer at the Maui Historical Society in the late 1980s. Perhaps it will inspire other young people to pursue the study of missions. More importantly, this monograph does provide important information to scholars of Hawaiian history. As those in the field know, most of the evangelists who came to the Sandwich Islands were prolific writers. A scholar could spend a lifetime in the archives and not read everything that the missionaries wrote. Therefore, anyone who produces a study of the lives of even one missionary couple—like the Gulicks—that is as well researched as Putney's work, is providing important information that scholars such as myself will refer to

in their own research and writing. Consequently, Putney's monograph will be most appreciated by the general public and scholars of missionary history in Hawai'i.

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The Bridge: The Life and Rise of Barack Obama. By David Remnick. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2010. x + 656 pp. Illustrated. Bibliography. Notes. Index. \$29.95 cloth

The historic election of Barack Hussein Obama to the 44th presidency was a watershed moment in the United States. The election seemed to promise a new day in American politics and symbolized the reconciliation of the long struggle for civil rights. For many the election heralded a nation's readiness to live up to its lofty ideals, the twin promises of participatory democracy and an end to racial inequality. It seemed as though the nation had (at least, momentarily) transcended "race." It is in the shadow of this idealism that Remnick writes *The Bridge: The Life and Rise of Barack Obama*.

He opens with Obama's speech in March 2007 at Brown Chapel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Selma, Alabama. Forty-two years earlier Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered a speech at Brown Chapel, as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) decided to make Selma the focal point in the national struggle for voting rights. Remnick wants to place the intersection of race and politics at the center of his narrative and uses Selma to begin his account. The incident on the Edmund Pettus Bridge that led to the brutal violence known as "Bloody Sunday" is the starting point of the narrative. At the foot of Remnick's bridge lies the viciousness of American racism, and at the other end, the "culmination," the election of an African American to the highest office in the land. He quotes John Lewis approvingly, "Barack Obama is what comes at the end of that bridge in Selma" (p. 575).

The book traces Obama's life story through the election, offering biographical sketches of his parents' lives, recounting his childhood, adolescence, and formal education. Remnick then takes us on the political road with Obama detailing the careful study of a young politician with bold aspirations. He shifts to Obama's life in Chicago and his controversial rise to political promi-

nence there. Here the author treads familiar ground and offers little new information. The interesting avenues his research does open go untraveled. What was his relationship with former State Senator Alice Palmer? How do the early misgivings of African American activists, organizers and politicians complicate the triumphant narrative of Obama's meteoric rise?

Perhaps the most interesting sections of the book are when Remnick attempts to peer beyond the mystique he himself constructs. In the sixth chapter, he discusses Obama's memoir-cum-autobiography, *Dreams of My Father*. Here the author actually engages in some analysis, while (somewhat clumsily) attempting to insert Obama's book into the long tradition of slave narratives and African American autobiography. Remnick wryly notes Obama's use of "novelistic contrivances" and "melodrama" in crafting his testimony, his "not infrequent reveries" and spiritual awakenings: [On his first trip to Africa], "For the first time in my life", Obama writes, "I felt the comfort, the firmness of identity that a name might provide, how it could carry an entire history in other people's memories." *And he hasn't even left the airport.*" (emphasis added, p. 246). Later, in another rare moment of critical insight, reflecting on Obama's speech on race in Pennsylvania in 2008, Remnick comes to the conclusion: "... [Obama] positioned ... himself as a historical advance, the focal point of a new era ... In effect, [the speech] congratulated the country for getting behind him" (p. 527). The whole of the book wrestles with these contradictions, the noble vision sits uneasily beside the shrewd opportunism.

Overall, the book reads more like a campaign reporter's journal than a substantive engagement with the "American drama of race" as embodied in Barack Obama's presidency. The book is more annalistic than analytical. Remnick seems fascinated by Obama's ability to offer "multiple meanings to multiple people." He is particularly impressed with Obama's "shape-shifting" capacities, his ability to cater his cadence to his audience. In hindsight, this strategic ambiguity, which was (for Remnick) Obama's strength on the campaign trail, has become his greatest weakness in office. His studied caution comes across as indecisiveness, his 'serene' deliberation appears as conceit, his 'bipartisanship' reads as weakness, and his seeming inability to articulate a forthright position on virtually anything of significance conjures a man ill at ease in the office.

The book's Epilogue takes stock of Obama's first year as president. Unfortunately, he neglects to use this opportunity to discuss some of the more serious implications and consequences of Obama's political choices. Remnick avoids a discussion of his cabinet appointments, his remarkable *volte face* on many of his campaign promises, or even his ever-willingness to compromise with moneyed interests on Wall Street, in the financial sector or the insurance industry. Similarly, while Obama and his administration have gone to

great pains to delicately side-step the “race question,” addressing it only when absolutely necessary (as with the Jeremiah Wright incident in 2008) or “accidentally” (as with the Henry Louis Gates episode of 2009), the decidedly non-“post-racial” reality of contemporary American politics coupled with the financial meltdown and a profound resurgence of racial and religious intolerance has brought Obama’s “disqualifying otherness” back to the fore with a vengeance. The election of the first African American president has blown the lid off of the most virulent strains of American racism, unleashing a toxic eruption of Deepwater Horizon proportions. In the contemporary moment, “Brand Obama” would appear to be a bridge back to the 19th century.

In the end, Remnick’s book says what it shows, a profoundly ambitious, hyper-intelligent politician on the make who *happens* to be black (either when convenient or necessary), “what you see is what you want to see” (p. 494). In his policy-making and/or legislative inaction, Obama has beaten a hasty retreat from the political constituencies that put him into power (that “power base” he “struggled mightily” to cultivate). While promising “hope” and “change,” the Obama administration has marched in lock-step with his predecessor’s agenda. And in bold reversals of his previous “principles” he has failed to do anything remotely relevant to addressing the devastating impact of the contemporary financial crisis on working class Americans. The book could have been subtitled the “rise and fall of a campaign,” since we learn little about policy and less about politics. As Michelle Obama put it, “Maybe one day he will do something to warrant all this attention” (p. 427).

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Haoles in Hawai‘i. By Judy Rohrer. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010. xii + 124 pp. Notes. Glossary. Bibliography. Index. \$14.99 paper

Instead of chronicling the different waves of European and European American immigration and settlement in Hawai‘i since the 19th century, Judy Rohrer takes a Whiteness Studies approach to examine and question how Whiteness is a politicized and contested racialized identity in Hawai‘i. Such a focus is befitting a political scientist, despite the generalized scope inferred from the title of the book. In particular, Rohrer presents an overview of Whiteness in Hawai‘i through select historical context, discussion of interdisciplin-

ary scholarly debates, and retelling controversial current events within the past decade and a half. In this regard, the book is a good introduction to race dynamics in Hawai'i through the lens of Whiteness, and the ways Whiteness in Hawai'i can be simultaneously marginalized and hegemonic.

Unlike Whiteness in other parts of the United States, the racialized identity of "haole" is more problematic and subject to greater scrutiny and condemnation by the non-White majority in Hawai'i. Rohrer attributes this difference to circumstances surrounding the colonization and neo-colonization of Hawai'i, and the century-long oppositional socio-historical relationship between Whiteness, on the one hand, and Native Hawaiianess and Localness, on the other. Yet, other scholars have offered these same conclusions. The book would have benefited from Rohrer's own critical insights and deeper analysis to push the discussion of these topics in new directions. Nevertheless, she does provide a good summary overview of existing literature for those familiar with Hawaii's history.

When discussing more contemporary events that reconfigure "haole" into one of victimization and defamation, the book shifts its methodological focus from mostly historical scholarship to historical texts supplemented by news reportage and court cases. Two chapters provide an informative and compelling retelling of controversial events, such as the Waikēle Shopping Center beatings in 2007 and the Kamehameha Schools lawsuits at the turn of this century. However, these summary chapters would have benefitted from a cultural studies and critical race theory analysis to help the reader better understand the ways Whiteness in Hawai'i dovetails and deviates from Whiteness in other parts of the United States. Yet, her concept of "performative haoleness" shows much promise, but needed further explication, especially in light of existing scholarship in Whiteness Studies, in particular, and Ethnic Studies or American Studies, more generally.

Though not comprehensive in its breadth and critically interrogative in its depth, the book does delve into topics of interest to a general public, such as haole victimization and the historical origins of haole as a racial identity specific to Hawai'i. When paired with the readability of her prose, Rohrer's book would appeal to the general public and introductory level undergraduate courses.

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The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i.
By Christine Skwiot. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,
2010. 283 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Index. \$39.95 cloth

The Purposes of Paradise is a thoroughly researched book that brings political and cultural analysis to bear on a history of United States relations with Cuba and Hawai'i. Skwiot argues convincingly that from roughly the turn of the century to 1959, which marked Hawaiian statehood and the Cuban Revolution, Hawai'i and Cuba were linked together as insular objects of U.S. imperial desire. This desire, manifested through influential travel narratives and tourism practices, as well as political strategizing and decisionmaking, was harnessed by white American elites to serve their interests. The author lays out the historical sweep of this desire in chapters that trace the tensions between frontier ideals of white republics, the needs of capital that paid no heed to dreams of white racial purity, the exoticization of indigenous and immigrant peoples of color and their dispossession, and emergent social movements that negotiated their tactics in a rapidly changing social, political and economic landscape.

This book is an important contribution to a transnational American Studies of imperialism for several reasons. First, it contributes to the critique of U.S. exceptionalism by demonstrating the sustained comparison between American democratic ideals and the ways in which they fell short in Cuba and Hawai'i. For example, in her second and third chapters, Skwiot discusses the projects of white elites: having failed to shore up their vision of white republican settler colonialism in both sites, white elites subsequently adopted a practice of social apartheid, reserving for themselves the decadent pleasures of the tropics. The boom in luxury resorts and "pleasure regimes" signaled an abandonment of U.S. white settler colonialism and annexation and a shift to a different kind of tropical dream for a cosmopolitan elite with aspirations to New World aristocracy (pp. 11, 77). Throughout the five chapters that constitute the book, the author tracks how the discourses of "consensual empire" and the civilizing project operate as political smokescreens for race and class inequality, political disenfranchisement and inter-governmental collusions, graft and corruption.

Second, Skwiot's book ambitiously delivers on an unexpected geographical comparison: by juxtaposing the Caribbean tropics with the Pacific, the author tracks an important connection that has been unexplored in book-length form. Beginning with the first chapter, which outlines how travel writers and white settlers imagined these "Tropical Edens" as potential territories that would inevitably be "American enough" to be incorporated into the United

States, to the last chapter that explores the road to statehood and revolution for Hawai'i and Cuba, respectively, the book offers a nuanced account of how the desires and strategies of local elites, U.S. capitalist interests, the U.S. state and Cuban and Hawaiian indigenous peoples, migrants, and citizens of color differed and converged across space over the same period. In particular, Skwiot provides a wealth of background information that allows the reader to understand the nuances of localized politics and inter- and intra-racial class politics in each site, allowing important linkages to be made between the imperial projects in Cuba and Hawai'i.

Third, the book emphasizes the emergent responses to cultural and economic colonialisms by tracking the consolidation of social movements in each site that agitated for both independence or inclusion. While elements of these cultural and political negotiations appear throughout the book—such as the author's focus on the strategic maneuvers of Native Hawaiian elites—Skwiot's last two chapters highlight the ways that the people of Hawai'i and Cuba came to reject the limited consumer citizenship offered to them in lieu of full political and economic rights. These strategic but flawed actions, which led to the Castro-led Cuban revolution and the Asian labor coalition-led Democratic political takeover and move to Hawai'i statehood, Skwiot suggests, echoed and yet substantially revised the early dreams of white republican settler colonialism that framed Cuba and Hawai'i in the U.S. imagination. Comparing the divergent fates of an independent, revolutionary Cuba with an incorporated Hawai'i, Skwiot argues that these movements to shake up the economic and political domination of elites in Cuba and Hawai'i actually fell in with Cold War U.S. interests to market itself as a defender of decolonization, even as its actual practice was exactly the opposite.

While *The Purposes of Paradise* is primarily a historical project, Skwiot deftly weaves political history with close, historicized readings of travel narratives to produce what is ultimately a model of interdisciplinary scholarship. The abundance of historical detail included in the book can at times be helpful (especially for readers unfamiliar with the histories of Cuba and Hawai'i) and distracting (occasionally the detail detracts from the overall flow of the book). Overall, however, the author manages a good balance of focusing on the particular local actors and contexts and the broader implications for a narrative on the softer side of U.S. empire. This is a book that is not only a useful resource for scholars in History and American Studies, but also a key intervention that enlarges the scope of and merges the studies of tourism and policy.

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